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885 828 577 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 596 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [1144] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 599 554 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 754 [955] But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these [784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [1114] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid
grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of 888
low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in 754
arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and 156
women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type 577
personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. 562
And if a man lives in conformity with these normative ex- 561
pectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honour-
able. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably
wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since
it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to
the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while,
on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain
always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the
breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult
son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction
is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances
of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of
honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two
concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when
it does occur, the former is always the significant standard
where prestige is concerned.

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve
a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative
restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restric-
tions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly
threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when
we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material
significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other
the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations
between families that are not related through kinship or
marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is 683
believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved 156
by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds 577
in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly [784]
believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals.

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married woman he showed that he was not honourable and, further, by hiding in his hut he revealed his cowardice and exposed his manliness to public ridicule. He failed to measure up to the critical qualities required of a man; this was a matter for shame. The young son of Pistiolis, who possesses only sixty sheep, told me that on migrations the family is so ashamed of its poverty that it delays its departure until a few days after the other Sarakatsani have left the village. 'Otherwise people would see how poor we were and would laugh at us.' Eleutherios has a small son who is subject to fits. His brother admitted that this was a matter for shame because people would say that God was punishing the child for its parents' sins. It is a mark of indelible parental failure if children are spotted by any moral or physical blemish. A modest maiden has shame in two respects. She is aware of the power of her sexuality; in a sense she has already failed by being a woman at all, and for this she 'feels shame'. She is also a girl 'with shame' in the sense that she carefully conforms to a strict code of modest behaviour and movement. This expresses the fear of failure in disciplining sexuality according to the ideal pattern of maidenly conduct. Finally, a little child feels shame before a stranger because it lacks experience of a situation it does not understand. It fears failure and criticism. 'The child is ashamed. He does not understand yet,' says the father.

These different contextual situations in which the concept of shame is used are linked by the notion of failure, or fear of failure, whether the emphasis on inadequacy is internal to the social personality, producing feelings of self-disesteem, or whether, as is more often the case, these sentiments are made more acute through public loss of prestige. The laughter, ridicule, and insults actually experienced, or more often imagined, are the marks of failure so far as the external reference of shame is concerned. Between the two sanctions of right conduct, self-regard, and shame, there is a close affinity. While self-regard is the positive incentive to achieve what is expected, shame is the fear, or the realization, of not achieving it. This difference of emphasis is reflected in the fact that to some extent these two sentiments are sex-linked. The idea of self-regard contains the notion of a positive competitive attitude, especially between men of similar age and standing. Women do not go

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God not only provides, He protects. He is the Father of men who are His children, 'God protects the people' (ὁ Θεὸς φυλάει τὸν κόσμο) they say. God is concerned about His creatures and, because they are dependent on Him, He is disposed to have pity and compassion on them. 'Lord have mercy on us', this simple and often repeated petition of the liturgy is well understood. God's mercy is a reflection of His love. And this, since God is all powerful, must be an unmotivated favour, except in the sense that a father loves his children simply because they are his children. When a Sarakatsanos asserts 'We believe in God' (πιστεύομε στὸν Θεό) he means not only that they believe intellectually in His existence, but that they have confidence in Him. He is thought of as being at once distant from men yet close to them. The absolute power of God, and also His absolute goodness, place a great distance between God and sinful men and this, perhaps, is reflected in the notion of His dwelling in the infinity of the sky. But since He created men with the potentiality of divinity, He remains concerned with their affairs. Sarakatsani feel that they are able to approach Him directly with simple petitions pleading for protection from evil, sickness, or want.

But in His concern for the beings He has created God, also, judges and punishes. He is a just God in the sense that no evil-doer ever escapes His judgement, yet the form this punishment assumes frequently appears to men to be capricious and unpredictable. Sometimes vengeance is not immediate but falls on the children of a guilty person. Very often misfortune seems utterly undeserved by the sufferer himself and must be simply ascribed to the will of God which passes his understanding; even other men, who seldom find it difficult to refer a misfortune suffered by another to the sin committed, will sometimes agree that the measure of God's punishment is hard, particularly when the life of a small child is taken. God the Father, then, appears to the Sarakatsani under two aspects; first as He who provides and cares, He who is merciful, approachable and near at hand; but secondly as the judge and avenger, distant and without pity. Under the second aspect there is a sense of ambivalence, even resentment, in the attitude to God, not unlike the tension and strain that enters the relations of a Sarakatsanos with his earthly father. He cannot

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's horses, sheep or goats. 783

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest. 783 609

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures. 783 784 [754] [777]

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punishment of God as being realized essentially in this world either against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Paradise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 783 784 722 725 783 784 721

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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[1]. After dark the former beat men and women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic rush in different directions, injuring one another and losing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific. If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell, bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step, unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountainside. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically, until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person 'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil
[789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
[788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
791 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

/221 cont./

685 577 783 [784] responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

685 577 825 [674] [744]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice and reparation in these specific instances.

685 577

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

[625]

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

[559] Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

[783]

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777 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain
236 number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any
777 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must
221

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to
776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed
151 to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, male-
[789] volent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/273 cont./
789 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
585 take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks
[796] transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[239] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
302 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[194] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873.

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 239 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[191] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

[194]

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75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 789 784 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must refrain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 784 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations, which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some [791] [554] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 784 562 [831] [833] This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility. Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, the married woman is doubly dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life. A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,

233 784 [374] for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. However, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 754 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

233 /279 cont./
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[114] by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II. Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
221 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
233
[171] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/307 cont./

789
114

by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] [783] [782] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

/340 cont./

765 769 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: Ἑλλην. Λαικὴ Λατρεία. pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and [533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts [533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in [765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries. 769 796 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared [789] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash [302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled [515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone! [761] [796]